

U.S./Europe— Sharp Class Battles Ahead

The recent British miners' strike has ended in a relative victory for the workers. Fighting back against historically depressed wages and 12 percent inflation in the last year, the union settled for 22-32 percent wage increases. In past issues we noted that the future of all British workers for the next several years could be determined by the outcome of this strike. By attempting to break through Heath's anti-labor state wage controls British miners were in the vanguard of the world working class in resisting the bosses' attempts to place the cost of mounting economic crisis on the backs of working people.

The consequences of this strike victory will rapidly be felt in Britain itself. Pay claims are immediately pending for the power station workers, engineers (metal workers) and railwaymen. Seamen are demanding a settlement similar to the miners'. And a section of the Mineworkers union is already discussing demands for a 50-60 percent wage increase to be presented this fall. Furthermore the incoming Labour government is committed (on paper) to a number of nationalizations and to dumping the Industrial Relations Act. While Wilson and the labor tops have talked about a "new social contract" and "voluntary" wage controls, there is nothing down on paper yet; and as the *Economist* (9 March) asked last week, "so what is it [the government] going to say to the other unions when prices are going up 10-15 per cent?" The prospect for Britain in the next half year or so is for some stiff wage demands and industrial action by the workers to back them up. "If the miners can do it, so can we," many will say.

A Hot Summer in Europe?

While the public workers' strike in Germany last month was a largely stage-managed affair, it was the first walkout in 28 years for those unions and ended in a settlement which kept government employees' incomes about even with inflation. Its broader importance lies in the fact that it virtually guarantees that the more militant metal workers' union (with some 4 million members and considerable Stalinist influence) will push hard for a large settlement this year. Another factor inclining the metal union leaders to adopt a militant stance is their fear

of another wave of wildcat strikes like those last August (notably the Cologne Ford strike). With the large numbers of younger and foreign workers having very little loyalty to the trade-union bureaucracy, there is a possibility that if such wildcats occurred again they could bring older German workers along and temporarily outflank the union tops.

This potential wave of strike militancy could threaten the SPD-FDP coalition government in Bonn and begin to weaken the hold of the Social Democrats on the working class. Already the SPD's banker finance minister Helmut Schmidt is not particularly beloved in union circles. And, as indicated in the sharp drop in SPD

votes in the Hamburg state elections last week (down from 55 percent to 45 percent), Brandt's popularity among the working class is dropping as the inflation rate goes up.

In France there is also likely to be a wave of industrial unrest, particularly if the nationalized industries try to hold down wage increases as they have been told to do by the government. If unions in France are far weaker than in Germany and Britain (the CP-dominated CGT national federation has altogether only half as many members as the German metal workers' union alone), the strike struggles may be more chaotic and equally or more political. Furthermore, the CGT is under strong pressure from the left on the industrial

front with the increasing militancy (equally demagogic, to be sure) of the CFDT federation leadership.

Watergate Showdown in U.S.?

While neither the Heath government in Britain, the Pompidou-Messmer regime in France nor the Brandt government in West Germany has been terribly popular with the masses in the last few months, the resistance to mounting inflation has been expressed more or less directly through mounting union unrest. In the U.S., however, the rigid refusal of the union bureaucracy to fight for higher wages has led, on the one hand, to several isolated sparks of elemental

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WV PHOTO

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Attacking Militants, Conciliating Companies

Bridges Machine Sabotages ILWU Blacklist Fight

OAKLAND, Calif., March 8—The struggle against blacklisting of militants in Bay Area warehouses is intensifying in response to stepped-up employer attacks which are threatening the entire union. The campaign of the Committee to Defeat the Blacklist of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union is being taken to the March 16-17 ILWU constitutional convention. The opposition of the Bridges regime to the Committee's campaign is indicative of its refusal to fight *any* employer/government attacks, including the threatened devastating layoffs in Hawaii, recent NLRB decisions against the union and the continuing erosion of jobs in the longshore division due to containerization.

Anti-Blacklist Campaign

In January the East Bay Division of Warehouse Local 6 voted without opposition for the Committee's resolution that the "union undertake a vigorous fight in defense of itself and its membership against the blacklist." The vote followed an intensive petition campaign in which fully 10 percent of the entire East Bay warehouse membership had called for such a fight against the political firings of three union militants (see *WV* No. 37, 1 February). Since then, the Distributors' Association has fired another militant, who, curiously enough, just happened to have been active in the Committee's campaign. In addition, one warehouse chain began posting new rules to prevent "unauthorized literature" from circulating in the work places. These acts constitute a serious threat to both the conditions of the membership and the life of the union. In a leaflet issued after the most recent firing, the Committee to Defeat the Blacklist reemphasized:

"that an attack on union militants will open the door to an all out attack on the steward system since stewards are the union activists most easily identified by the employers. The blacklist also poses a direct threat to the hiring hall by allowing employers to choose who they want, like in the shape-up days of the 1930's."

Two of the earlier blacklist victims are former union stewards whose "crime" consisted of militant defense of the members' rights. The third is Bob Mandel, who has been blacklisted for two years for having led a petition campaign in the warehouse division for solidarity with the longshore strike during 1971. Blacklisting is accomplished by firing a militant before the end of the 90-day probation period from every warehouse to which he is sent by the hiring hall so that the victim never gains seniority or full union protection on any job. Some employers abuse the probation period regularly by firing all full members of the union in order to prevent the establishment of a stable work force and jack up productivity. As the Committee pointed out in its leaflet, "the elimination of union members has been coupled with real speedup."

ILWU Tops Undercut Fight

Following the Committee's petition campaign and the East Bay Division vote, the firing of a fourth militant, Larry Johnese, was a clear provocation which provided the union with an opportunity to bring the whole blacklisting issue to a head. Cases of "unjust discharge for union membership or activities" are supposed to take precedence over all other grievances pending between the union and company.

Armed with Johnese's grievance and the earlier cases (two of which are now over four months old!), the union should have demanded immediate reinstatement of all the members, backed up with concrete preparation for a strike. A union which permits its militants to be fired without resistance paves the way for its own destruction!

But consistent with its policy of class peace—and in direct defiance of the East Bay Division membership's vote to fight the blacklist—the Local 6 leadership ordered Johnese's grievance thrown out. The officials' argument was the same as the company's: since Johnese is a "work card" worker and not a full union member (despite having paid full dues for two and one-half years) he could not possibly have been fired for union activities!

Thus blacklisting employers have been able to take full advantage of the weakness and divisiveness built into the union by the establishment of second-class categories of membership ("red books" in warehouse and "B men" in longshore) and the exclusion of "work card" workers from membership entirely. These divisions were introduced to encourage speed-up and disenfranchise the most exploited workers. Such discrimination must be eliminated, and all full-time warehousemen and longshoremen granted full union membership rights. A motion to be introduced by members of the Committee to Fight the Blacklist at the upcoming convention maintains that, "the union must defend all members including work cards against discrimination by the employers." The Committee has also pointed out that Johnese has been active on recent picket lines, where he served as picket captain several times and was photographed by management!

Employer Attacks on Longshore Union Mount

The Distributors' attack, far more than just an attempt to victimize a handful of militants, is part of a pattern of attacks on the entire ILWU by the employers and their government. This includes a recent wave of government decisions aimed at Local 6. In one, the NLRB ordered the union to reinstate two members expelled for cooperating with management in an open union-busting attempt at an East Bay warehouse.

A second decision, stemming from a suit brought by non-ILWU women workers demanding equal access to skilled jobs, opens the way for an attack on the union hiring hall. The government ordered plant-wide seniority to be established in a bottling plant in which the ILWU has jurisdiction only over the warehouse, thus giving management the opportunity to bypass the hiring hall by filling warehouse jobs with non-ILWU personnel getting substandard wages. Local 6 must demand the highest wage scale for all, while calling on the other unions in the plant to set up a single union jurisdiction, with one hiring hall covering all workers in the plant and equal access to all jobs for women and all minorities, with no preference for any group.

But the attacks on the ILWU are not limited to the warehouses. The Hawaii Division of 23,000 sugar and pineapple workers faces devastating loss of jobs through runaway plantations. The union leadership's response to the projected elimination of Hawaiian pineapple production by 1975 has not been to call for international organizing of pineapple plantation workers in Taiwan, the Philippines and Kenya who are

making 10 to 17 cents an hour. Instead it has called for protectionism through "realistic duties" on foreign products and making runaways pay pension and severance pay.

ILWU-Teamsters Feud Opens Door to Non-Union Labor

The longshore job base has also continued to shrink, leaving ILWU Bay Area longshore Local 10 virtually bankrupt. A recent NLRB decision overturned key sections of the contract with the Pacific Maritime Association signed last summer. The royalty tax for containers not stuffed or unstuffed by ILWU labor was ruled illegal, leaving employers free to work containers in off-dock areas without penalty. While the Teamsters and ILWU have been battling for some time over the shrinking volume of container-stuffing jobs, the employers have been increasingly using non-union labor! 60 percent of all containers are now stuffed by non-union labor. The NLRB ruling, which Bridges hailed as a "victory," can only mean that this figure will increase at the expense of both the Longshore and Teamster memberships.

The NLRB and employer attacks on the warehouse division are a desperate attempt to contain the union and protect the vast profits shippers are now making at the expense of longshore jobs. Local 6 was created by a great "march inland" following the victorious 1936 San Francisco general strike. A similar "march inland" now would find tens of thousands of unorganized workers in warehouses stuffing containers throughout California and as far inland as Nevada.

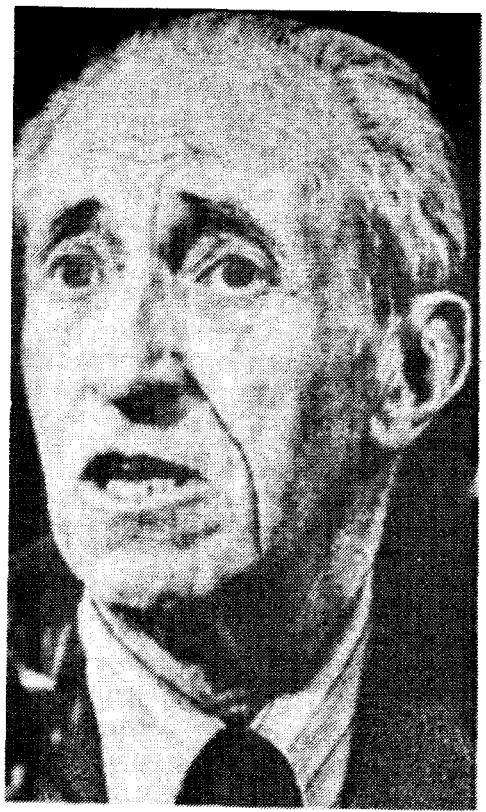
Local 6 Leaders Launch Red-Baiting Campaign

But the response of the Local 6 and international ILWU leaderships to the Distributors' Association blacklisting attack has been to try to discredit those who have demanded that the union defend itself. Unable to convince the East Bay Division that the anti-blacklist committee "went outside union channels," attempting to "destroy the union" by circulating a petition among the membership (!), the bureaucracy transferred the attack to the San Francisco Division, in which the Committee to Defeat the Blacklist had not yet been active.

According to members who were at the meeting, the leadership failed to report the East Bay Division's endorsement of the Committee's petition and told the SF Division that the Committee was "the enemy within"! Local 6 President McClain, who had led (unsuccessfully) the opposition to the Committee in the East Bay, specifically advocated that members not have the right to circulate literature in the warehouses, thereby reinforcing the newhouse rules of one employer and threatening the right of all oppositional groups and members to make themselves heard.

The leadership then launched into a vicious red-baiting attack on the Committee, accusing its most prominent leader, Bob Mandel, of being a member of an outside revolutionary organization. In an attempt to smear the Committee, direct attacks were even made on the *Workers Vanguard* article "ILWU Ranks Back Blacklist Victims" (see *WV* No. 37, 1 February), which reported an interview with Mandel.

Prominent among the red-baiters were ILWU members who have themselves been blacklisted and victimized for alleged membership in the Com-



Harry Bridges

DAILY WORLD

munist Party. Members reflecting the CP's reformist views have refused from the beginning to support the Committee to Defeat the Blacklist, because Committee members refused to be bound by the former's insistence on a gag rule under which members of the Committee would refrain from criticizing each other publicly. The purpose of this kind of "non-aggression pact" is to suck the Committee into the local bureaucracy by prohibiting criticism of the leadership's no-fight position.

The same CP-supported elements then mounted a race-baiting attack on the Committee (since the present victims happen to be white), arguing that the blacklist campaign was actually a "white list" and that a "broad" anti-discrimination committee should be officially set up to "investigate" discrimination. Not surprisingly, the Stalinist *People's World*, West Coast CP paper, reported the setting up of the "broad" investigative committee without mentioning the anti-blacklist petition campaign or the committee which had brought the specific cases of blacklisting discrimination before the membership!

Bridges Bureaucracy's Class Collaboration

The bureaucrats' and CP-supported red-baiting attacks have only one purpose—to protect those who collaborate with the employers against the interests of the ranks and to discredit and drive out of the union those who advocate a class-struggle policy before they have a chance to be heard.

The union can survive only by fighting back against the employer attacks, but such a course would disrupt Bridges' cozy relationship with the Pacific Maritime Association and the Democratic Party. Membership in longshore Local 10 has shrunk by over two thirds due to containerization, which Bridges has aided by signing two successive contracts which effectively blocked any membership resistance to job losses and speed-ups. This erstwhile "labor radical" has even accepted a job on the San Francisco Port Commission where he participates in the planning of further container yards to eliminate still more longshore jobs.

Bridges' class collaborationism has so devastated the longshore section that Local 10 recently elected a new leadership, for the first time depriving Bridges of his status as an elected delegate of a local (he is still an international officer, of course). At issue in the campaign was Bridges' plan to sell the union's hiring hall, allegedly because of the bankruptcy of the Local. The buyers turned out to be interests tied directly to the family of San Francisco mayor and gubernatorial candidate Alioto, and the price a fraction of the hall's worth!

The Bridges regime has been directly involved in the attacks on the blacklisted warehouse militants. The

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WORKERS VANGUARD

German Workers' Militancy on the Rise

Brandt, Union Tops Stage-Manage Public Workers' Strike

BERLIN—The recent three-day strike of public employees in West Germany and West Berlin starkly demonstrated both the potential power of the German working class and the reactionary role of the Social Democratic trade-union bureaucracy. Prior to the strike Willy Brandt's SPD-led government refused to ante up more than a 9.5 percent increase, moaning that "two-figure" settlements would set off a wave of inflation and/or lead to 900,000 unemployed. However, as the conservative *British Economist* (9 February) wrote even before the strike:

"...everybody knows that the unions are angry about having settled for too little last year and are under pressure from their own left-wingers to do better this time. After the ritual sabre-dance has been performed, the eventual outcome is still reckoned to be a compromise at around 11 per cent, which can be dressed up to save face on both sides."

And that is exactly what happened.

The head of the ÖTV (Public Service, Transport and Traffic Union), Kluncker, is reported to have commented on the settlement that "we made a fair compromise. There are no winners or losers" (quoted in *Arbeiterkampf*, 26 February). Though he may not think so, some 70 percent of the ÖTV members in the city of Frankfurt thought they were the losers and voted against the contract; overall only about 62 percent approved the terms agreed to by the leadership.

This is understandable, for given the 7-8 percent inflation last year (and even higher rates expected in 1974), an average loss of 2 percent due to higher tax brackets and long-time slippage of the wage position of public employees, the settlement was at best a holding action.

Give a Little, Take a Little

The original demands of the four unions involved (representing 1,800,000 public workers) were for a 15 percent wage increase (with a minimum of 185 DM) and 300 DM vacation pay. Many of the local unions had earlier called for large across-the-board increases of around 300 DM per month (*Spartacus* No. 1, 1974). Sensing considerable unrest in the ranks, the union bureaucracy assumed a posture of fake militancy, claiming that public workers must not be the "whipping boys" of government economic policy and calling a series of one-day "warning strikes" and mass demonstrations. When it came to a vote in early February, some 91 percent of the ÖTV and 83 percent of the DAG (a white-collar union) opted for a strike.

The Brandt government was careful to aid the Social Democratic union bureaucracy by appearing to give way only gradually, one-half percent a day, thereby enabling Kluncker to reject several offers so the ranks could blow off steam in a carefully controlled



Government workers' demonstration in Dortmund.

SPARTACUS

of revolutionary Marxists is to raise the demand for a sliding scale of wages and hours, to ensure jobs for all and complete protection against inflation. Make the bosses pay for the economic crisis they have created!

Likewise, it is critically important to assert the independence of the unions against the bourgeois state by breaking with every form of state wage controls. In Germany an "incomes policy" has been enforced by the "voluntary" agreement of the unions to participate in tripartite *Konzertierte Aktion* (concerted action) wage negotiations in which the state acts as an arbiter between the antagonists. Social Democratic bureaucrats have sold this policy to the ranks with the argument that an SPD-led government assures the unions of two votes against the companies' one. (This is quite similar to Wilson's argument for a "new social pact" with the unions in Britain.) In fact, however, *Konzertierte Aktion* gives the union bureaucracy an excuse for capitulating to the bosses, while offering the bourgeoisie (with both company and state representatives) decisive control over wages. "Labor out of the *Konzertierte Aktion*" is today an essential demand both to protect the workers' living standards and to expose the real nature of the bourgeois government.

While the Social Democratic Party (SPD) claims to be nothing more than a "people's party" and is currently governing in coalition with the small liberal-capitalist Free Democratic Party (FDP), it is essentially based on its position in the trade unions and is considered by the bulk of the West German workers as the party of their class. Such illusions in the SPD are instrumental in holding back the workers' struggles. Consequently it is important for the Trotskyist vanguard to call on the SPD workers to dump their bourgeois-bureaucratic leaders (Brandt, Wehner, Schmidt and Co.), and on the SPD to break from the coalition with the FDP in order to take power in its own name.

Additional issues raised by the strike include the need for a single union of government employees (vital in a situation where they are currently organized on a caste basis, with a special union for white-collar workers, two competing for the teachers and a "league" for the life-tenured administrative employees—the *Beamten*—who are legally forbidden to strike and consequently required to scab) and the demand for a simple majority vote to

authorize a strike (it takes 75 percent to do so in the ÖTV and DAG; in the latter it also takes 75 percent to reject a contract!).

Also of major importance was the sympathy strike of the West Berlin employees of the *S-Bahn*, a rapid transit network under East German control which also runs through West Berlin. In contrast to the red-baiting of capitalists and Social Democratic union bureaucrats, the proper course for the unions in pursuing a united class struggle would have been to hail this act of proletarian solidarity across the "Iron Curtain," while demanding the right to strike in the Stalinist-run German Democratic Republic (DDR), where this elementary proletarian right is denied.

Finally, the participation in the contract negotiations by the police union, the GdP, also seems to have escaped the notice of the German left. The working class must give no support to the professional hired guns of the exploiting class. We have no interest in striking to win higher wages for the cops. The slogan of "No Solidarity with the GdP" could have served an important function in drawing the class line during the public workers' strike.

In sum, the task of the Trotskyist vanguard is to struggle both in the unions and outside of them for a revolutionary leadership of the workers movement. By raising a program of transitional demands, including the call for workers control of production and for a workers government to expel the capitalist class, a policy of consistent class struggle is posed as the only real alternative to the current sellout misleaders. More militant "bread-and-butter" unionism is not enough!

Liquidating the Transitional Program

Among ostensibly Trotskyist organizations in Germany, the Gruppe Internationaler Marxisten (GIM—International Marxist Group), linked to the so-called "United Secretariat," does not seem to have reacted to the public workers' strike at all, no doubt being absorbed in the "discussion" currently engaging the USec. In any case, as the continuator of the liquidationist current of Pabloism, the GIM does not insist on the need for a revolutionary alternative to the reformist bureaucracies (preferring in centrist fashion either to submerge itself totally in

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West German Chancellor Willy Brandt

DER SPIEGEL



ÖTV's Kluncker (left) and SPD Interior Minister Genscher.

strike. The strike stopped garbage collection from the first day, crippled the postal service on the second and led to shutdowns of power in some areas. However the leadership limited the walkout to only 250,000 workers (one seventh of the total) at the high point and refused to call out workers in so-called "vital services"—hospitals, power stations (in most areas), railroads, etc. Then on the third day the union tops agreed to a "realistic" 11 percent wage increase (with 170 DM minimum) and fringe benefits raising the total package to around 13 percent. To ensure the absence of effective opposition, the contract vote was postponed to more than a week after everyone had gone back to work.

Capitalism Is the Enemy

Like any major strike in this period, this one clearly raised the need for a transitional program which goes beyond the limits of what capitalism can "afford." In the context of rising unemployment and Brandt's threat that "two-figure settlements would increase the danger of a corresponding development of prices" (*Berliner Tagesspiegel*, 13 February), the task

Solidarity Actions Support British Miners

NEW YORK:

LABOR TOPS—ALL TALK, NO ACTION

NEW YORK—Upwards of 85 militants marched February 27 in support of the striking British coal miners at a demonstration held at the British Consulate in New York City. The demonstration, which took place the day before the recent British general elections, was the result of a call by the Miners Solidarity Action Committee. MSAC and similar committees around the country were initiated by the Spartacist League to build for united-front solidarity demonstrations around the slogan "Victory to the British Miners."

The strike directly challenged the state wage control schemes of the Tory government and was of immense importance not only to the British working class but to the entire world working class. In the United States the Spartacist League has been in the forefront of the struggle to mobilize concrete support for the cause of the British miners and to explain to militants the significance of the crisis in Britain and its implications for the international working class. In addition to New York City, demonstrations have been held in the Bay Area, Boston, Chicago, Detroit, Los Angeles, New Haven, Cleveland and Toronto.

In the New York City area the Miners Solidarity Action Committee received substantial verbal support from the labor movement. Unions and labor groups which gave their written or verbal endorsement for the action included the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists; Communications Workers of America, Local 1101; CWA Local 1103; CWA Local 1150; Fight Back; International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Local 827; International Longshoremen's Assoc. (Int'l); Industrial Union of Shipbuilding Workers of America (Port of N.Y.); Militant-Solidarity Caucus of the National Maritime Union; Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, District Council 8; OCAW Local 438; OCAW Local 8-149; OCAW Maritime Local 8-801; Rank and File Committee for a Democratic Union within the NYCTA; and the United Farm Workers.

Other organizations and individuals endorsing the action included: Ad Hoc Committee for Defense of Haitian Refugees; Black Panther Party; Catholic Worker; CFC—A Collective of Liberation Centers; Bill Epton; Friends of Haiti; Burton Hall, labor lawyer; Harlem Tenants' Union; Irish Republican Clubs; Liberation News Service; Paul O'Dwyer, president, N.Y. City Council; Revolutionary Communist League (Internationalist); Alfred Russel; Spartacist League/Revolutionary Communist Youth; and War Tax Resistance.

Of the many organizations and individuals who endorsed the action, few who did were willing to participate. The demonstration itself was dominated by the Spartacist League/Revolutionary Communist Youth contingent. Organizations whose members did participate in the demonstration included the Catholic Worker (which eventually withdrew on the grounds that the chants of the marchers violated its pacifist convictions), the CFC, Militant-Solidarity Caucus of the NMU, Revolutionary Communist League (Internationalist), RSL and the Long Island and Paterson, N.J. YSA chapters. Also participating in the march were independents and militants from the Irish Republican Clubs, the United Farm Workers, the Jewish Socialist Organizing Community and the Ad Hoc Com-

mittee for Defense of Haitian Refugees.

The demonstration was very spirited. Marching under its own banners, the SL/RCY contingent raised slogans such as "Smash State Wage Controls in U.S./Britain," "Defend the Miners—Smash the Wage Freeze with a General Strike in Britain," "Break with the Capitalist Parties—For a Workers Party! Forward to a Workers Government," "Not Ford, But a Workers Government," and "Workers of the World Unite!"

At the end of the demonstration Jack Heyman of the Militant-Solidarity Caucus of the NMU, a spokesman for the MSAC, read a telegram from the Committee to the National Union of Mine-workers in Britain. He was followed by Chris Knox, Spartacist spokesman, who read a telegram from the SL to the NUM. A statement was also made by a comrade of the RCL (Internationalist).

Comic relief for the demonstration was provided by the antics of the NCLC and the tiny CSL and Socialist Forum. All three of these groups opposed the demonstration. The NCLC argued that the miners' strike was doomed because it was isolated and that the miners should give up rather than be sucked into the CIA-inspired strike! The CSL and Socialist Forum claimed that the march was a "popular front" because it had the endorsement of Paul O'Dwyer, president of the N.Y. City Council. In fact, the CSL was a sponsor of the action until O'Dwyer endorsed it, at which time it pulled out.

Socialist Forum codified its ignorant objections in a leaflet where it lectured that Lenin could bloc with Kerensky in 1917 because capitalism was still "progressive" then, but that today in the epoch of imperialism there were no more progressives like Kerensky! For the CSL's unctuous dandy Harry Turner all action blocs between the proletariat and bourgeois political forces, even one individual, are absolutely impermissible under any and all circumstances. (Meanwhile, Turner's organization supported the Arab bourgeoisies against the Israeli bourgeoisie in the recent October War!) This is so because for Turner, as his history has demonstrated repeatedly, a "united front" can mean only a rotten propaganda bloc in which Turner instantly submerges his banners. For Turner, then, the united front becomes a liquidation of his program. By this "logic," inclusion of any bourgeois element would indeed mean capitulation to the class enemy—for Turner, that is. Why did you not, Harry Turner, object to the inclusion of the Catholic Worker, which after all is an arm of the Catholic church? Or do you find the Vatican more palatable and less "bourgeois" than Paul O'Dwyer?

For Leninists it is perfectly permissible to accept bourgeois support for a limited action in support of an unambiguously working-class demand such as victory to the miners, just as it is permissible to bloc with bourgeois forces to defend democratic liberties—provided the revolutionaries retain full freedom to criticize other members of the united front and do not submerge their own politics in a lowest-common-denominator propaganda bloc. SL signs at the demonstration calling for a break with the capitalist parties, for a workers party; not Ford, but a workers

government; etc., certainly made completely unambiguous our class opposition to the Democratic Party.

As a matter of fact, in every major class battle the proletariat seeks to win the petty bourgeoisie to its side and to take advantage of cleavages within the ruling class. What is impermissible is not a temporary bloc with a bourgeois politician, but subordinating the political program representing the interests of the working class to what is acceptable to a section of the class enemy. The SWP's antiwar front group NPAC was a popular front in miniature precisely because it failed to draw a class line on the imperialist war. NPAC's "single-issue" demand ("Out Now") was the means for seeking (and finally finding, as embodied in Vance Hartke) a bloc with a section of the bourgeoisie on a program acceptable to the liberal wing of imperialism, which believed withdrawal from Vietnam to be in the best interests of U.S. capitalism. In the pursuit of this bloc the SWP vacated any pretense of a class position for an NLF victory in Vietnam and for antiwar strike action by U.S. workers.

Now the CSL and Socialist Forum claim to believe that soliciting the endorsement of a bourgeois Democrat with ties to the labor bureaucracy for a united-front demonstration in solidarity with a crucial class action—a strike which brought down the Tory government!—constitutes "popular frontism." Communist Party-led unions in China accepted bourgeois support for the 1925 Hong Kong general strike, which was a tremendous working-class and anti-imperialist action. Was this a popular front? Learn to think, comrades!

More serious than these antics is the simple sectarianism of most of the ostensibly revolutionary left. Many trade unions endorsed the action because of the pressure the bureaucracies are under to at least verbally oppose the grinding inflation which is driving down the real wages of the working class. The failure of these bureaucrats to build this action exposes them as the windbags they are. But a hundred times worse are so-called revolutionary organizations like the Communist Party, Progressive Labor, Socialist Workers Party, International Socialists, Revolutionary Union and the Workers League, to name a few, who refused to do anything at all—thus demonstrating that they place petty organizational considerations above working-class solidarity in the face of capitalist attack.

Perhaps most egregious are the political bandits of the so-called Workers League. This outfit of two-bit hucksters which is in solidarity with the International Committee and looks to its bandit British brother—the Workers Revolutionary Party of Gerry Healy—for inspiration, absolutely refused to have anything to do with the Miners Solidarity Action Committee because it was initiated by the Spartacist League. These fakers have not initiated one single concrete act of solidarity with the British working class in this critical period. Their trade-union front group, the Potemkin Village TUALP, has not once raised any resolution in the labor movement in solidarity with striking British miners. And their twice-weekly rag, the *Bulletin*, has given little coverage to events in Britain in proportion to their importance for the international working class. The Workers League is internationalist in words and American-parochialist in practice.

The miners' strike is now over. The miners have won substantial wage increases and a Labour government sits in London. But the current crisis of British capitalism is by no means resolved. The miners' strike is but the prelude to further sharpened class conflicts in Britain, the U.S. and throughout the world. Workers of the world, unite!

TORONTO

TORONTO—About 45 socialists and militants picketed the British Trade Commission here on March 2 in support of the British miners' strike. Picketers chanted "Wilson Out—Labour to Power," "Bosses Out of the Mines—Britain Out of Ireland," "British and Irish Workers Unite—Same Enemy, Same Fight," "End the Tory Lockout—For a General Strike in Britain," and "Down with the Queen's Army—Build Workers' Militias." The united-front demonstration received a number of labor endorsements, including from David Archer, Ontario Federation of Labour; Grace Hartman, C.U.P.E. (public employees); Robert Cameron, ILA Local 1869; R. Russell, United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (UE). Written endorsements were received from J. Potts, Canadian Union of Postal Workers; J.B. Hunter, Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Transport and General Workers; Harry Ward, Amalgamated Transit Union, District 113; J. Mislin, United Hatters Union; and J. Saunders, Canadian Airlines Employees Association.

The demonstration was initiated by the Spartacist League/U.S. The Buffalo SL had contacted the Revolutionary Marxist Group in Toronto early in February to propose a joint call for a united-front solidarity demonstration. The RMG accepted the SL proposal on February 10, although with the reservation that it "could not be a high priority." At the first meeting to plan the demonstration, on February 14, the RMG representative said that he was "instructed by the executive committee to make it clear that the RMG would limit its activities to joining the picket line." At this point an independent at the meeting demanded assurances from the RMG that it was serious about the meeting. The RMG representative promised to check with his executive board and telephone immediately. No such call was ever received.

After repeated attempts to contact the RMG, the Buffalo SL sent a letter reminding the comrades of the "Revolutionary Marxist Group" of their internationalist responsibilities. The RMG replied with a letter on February 27 in which it announced it was pulling out of the united front altogether. With a sense of deadpan humor, the letter innocently remarked that "it was generally felt that the demonstration had not been well built at all, that no groups other than the SL and the RMG were involved (although it was not clear what the reasons were for this)..." Certainly the RMG's complete passivity must have had something to do with any possible problems in organizing this important demonstration!

The RMG's cowardly withdrawal is not the only example of sectarianism in Toronto—just the worst. The Canadian Party of Labour (fraternally tied to PL in the U.S.) said that it does not "make alliances with Trotskyites." No wonder—like its U.S. counterpart it is, after all, too busy making alliances with liberal college professors. The League for Socialist Action (LSA—politically linked to the SWP in the U.S.) declined to endorse the demonstration "after long consideration." Its question was whether or not the New Democratic Party had agreed to endorse it. Ross Dowson, who recently led his Socialist Education League in a right split from the LSA in the direction of Canadian nationalism, refused saying that "the miners have already won." As for the NDP, its Ontario provincial secretary Gordon Vichert considered endorsement until the results of the British elections were known. Then he

refused on the foggy grounds that "now Labour will form the government in Britain and we don't want to do anything that will embarrass the BLP."

Those who were capable of such an "embarrassing" action on March 2 included, besides the SL/RCY and its supporters, some members of the RMG who marched on the picket line despite the position taken by their organization, some members of the LSA who sold their press, some members of the Red Circle (a study group formally sympathetic to the RMG) and some unaffiliated militants.

The picketers heard an SL speaker tell how a more effective demonstration could have been mobilized but was sabotaged midway by the RMG. He pointed out the difficulties that the leaders of the various Canadian left groups would have in explaining their sectarian stance toward the demonstration. "The endorsement of the Labour bureaucrats shows their contradictory character as the lieutenants of capital in the workers movement," the speaker noted. "Pitifully enough, no Canadian opposition to them took this demonstration as an opportunity to expose their betrayals of the workers movement."

The speaker quoted Trotsky saying that "centrists mistake sectarianism for purity of principle." The small but spirited group was reminded that "what you have done today is an act of real internationalism, not the phony internationalism of the United Secretariat [whose Canadian sympathizer sections are the LSA and RMG] and others who claim the continuity of Trotsky's Fourth International. It is such elementary internationalist class solidarity and not the unprincipled maneuvering of the USec that will lead to the rebirth of the Fourth International."

NEW HAVEN

NEW HAVEN, February 27—The Solidarity Action Committee for Victory for the British Mineworkers today held a militant demonstration on the New Haven Green in defense of the miners' strike. Initiated by the New Haven Revolutionary Communist Youth, the committee was endorsed by the Spartacist League, RCY, Young Socialist Alliance, Revolutionary Communist League (Internationalist), Peoples Action, Justin Manning (International Representative of the Office and Professional Employees International Union), United Farm Workers Yale Support Committee and the Southern Africa Task Force. Craig Gouthier, director of the New Haven People's Center (home of the New World Bookstore and various Communist Party/YWLL functions), endorsed the action but the CP itself refused to do so, claiming that it would defend the miners in its "own way."

The demonstration attracted some 45 to 55 participants, who listened to speeches from representatives of the YSA, the UFW support committee and the SL/RCY. Individual members of the YWLL and the Party for Workers Power (a recent split-off from Progressive Labor) were present, although their organizations refused to endorse the action, as were supporters of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party along with a large number of independent students and trade unionists. Only the SL/RCY, however, came with a contingent, banners and chants emphasizing the need for a communist program in order to take the international class struggle forward.

The demonstration was briefly interrupted by members of the Tory Party (!) of the Yale Political Union, who circled the rally carrying a British flag and a sign reading "Toryism, not Trotskyism." As these pitiful aspiring executives began singing "God Save the Queen," they were effectively drowned out by a chant initiated by the SL/RCY, "Smash British Chauvinism—Labour to Power!"

The SAC received good media coverage, with the *Yale Daily News*, *New Haven Journal Courier*, various radio stations and the WTNH News all carrying reports of the united-front demonstration.

New Haven was one of the few cities in which the Young Socialist Alliance participated in the miners' support demonstrations. The speech given by the YSA representative, however, amounted to nothing more than these ex-Trotskyists' usual tailing after every struggle by an "oppressed group." Not only did it lack any program for the class struggle, but the speaker even went so far as to liken the Democratic Party here to the British Labour Party, completely ignoring the class distinction between a bourgeois party and a reformist workers party. When the spokesman for the Spartacist League criticized this false comparison in his remarks, the YSAer indignantly yelled, "what about the united front?" After years of fronting for Senator Vance Hartke and Representative Bella Abzug in the various popular-front formations in which the SWP seeks to submerge itself, these reformists have forgotten the essential criteria for a real united front—one of which is full *freedom of criticism* for all participating organizations.

The SL/RCY speaker underlined the importance of the Solidarity Action Committee's demonstration and emphasized the vital importance for the international working class of a victory for the British miners against Heath's union-busting offensive. Calling for the hot cargoing of all products sent from the U.S. which could be used to break the strike (notably coal), the speaker emphasized the need for concrete expressions of international working-class solidarity and for a class-struggle leadership in the unions to replace the present pro-capitalist bureaucracy, which has done virtually nothing to aid British miners in their

strike. Exposing the failure of the British miners' union leadership, the Labour Party and the ostensibly Marxist organizations of the British left to provide real leadership for the struggle, the SL/RCY called for "a general strike, centering on ending the three-day workweek, breaking the state wage controls and winning major wage gains with full cost-of-living adjustment, and forcing the Tory government out." The speaker went on to point out that the fight for a general strike, a struggle directed against the do-nothing policies of the present misleaders of the labor movement, underlines "the need for the building of a British section of a reborn Fourth International, the need for the building of a revolutionary party in Britain which is the only guarantee for the defeat of Heath and his class."

CLEVELAND

CLEVELAND—On March 2 a united-front demonstration in support of the British miners' strike was held in front of the U.K. consulate here. Attended by some 25 militants, the demonstration was initiated by the Cleveland Spartacist League/Revolutionary Communist Youth around the central slogans of "Victory to the British Miners" and "International Working-Class Solidarity." Among the slogans chanted by the picketers were "British and Irish Workers Unite, Victory to the Miners' Strike" and "Britain Out of Ireland, Bosses Out of the Mines—For a Workers Government!" The events concluded with the singing of the "Internationale."

The ostensible left in Cleveland demonstrated its simultaneously sectarian and opportunist character by refusing to respond to the call for a united front issued by the SL/RCY. In the case of the latter-day Shachtmanites of the IS and RSL this was accomplished by procrastinating, while the fake-Trotskyist SWP demurred on the grounds that the demonstration was not popular enough. The RU (including its front group, "People Get Ready"), the CP and Progressive Labor refused to participate on the "principled" pretext of never uniting with "Trotskyites"—a principle based on their inability to defend the past and present crimes of Stalinism against Marxist criticism.

Of the groups who deigned even to attend the planning meeting for the demonstration, "Modern Times" (a local spontaneist-syndicalist group) rationalized their failure to support the miners on the grounds that they generally leave town on weekends and "no workers would be present." However, several weekends before they had managed to be in town as the main sponsor of a demonstration attended by a few petty-bourgeois independent truckers. The Class Struggle League excused itself with the allegation that bourgeois endorsement of a working-class demand (i.e., Paul O'Dwyer's endorsement of the New York miners' support demonstration) automatically transforms the demonstration into a popular front (unless the endorsement is repudiated). Only YAWF displayed an essentially serious attitude to the proposed united front, although it was unable to mobilize its members because of illnesses (one attended).

These fake lefts' sectarian refusal to build a united-front demonstration for victory for the British miners is not the result of any kind of leftist impulse but rather of an opportunist desire to achieve popularity at any cost. Internationalism will become "popular" in the working class primarily because of the active intervention of those who embody the consciousness of the class as a whole, i.e., the revolutionary party. The desire to avoid unpopularity was the motive force for many "socialist" parties in supporting their bourgeoisies during World War I. But such great capitulations require great events—the small ones merely prepare the way.

Continued from page 2

... ILWU Blacklist Fight Sabotaged

bureaucracy is afraid that a fight against the anti-union blacklist would upset the ILWU tops' friendly relations with the Distributors' Association, thereby threatening the warehouse section's dues base. Equally important is the union leaders' determination to get rid of any internal opposition which exposes their policies of collaboration with the companies against the interests of the membership. Thus instead of leading the fight against company victimizations of union militants, ILWU tops have treated the Committee to Defeat the Blacklist as the base of a dangerous opposition. A letter of the Committee to the *Dispatcher*, the International union paper, was reportedly going to be run and only cancelled at the last minute under mysterious circumstances.

But the Committee is not an opposition grouping; it is a united front to defend any and all union victims of blacklisting. In fact, one of the blacklist victims is being defended by the Committee despite the fact that he was induced to participate in the CP-supported smear campaign against it!

Against Class Collaboration

In addition to sabotaging the anti-blacklist campaign, the officials are equally determined to prevent Mandel from serving as an official delegate to the convention. Mandel received 20 percent of the vote in the delegate elections for his program which included calling for hot-cargoing struck farm goods, defense of Chilean workers through boycotting military goods to Chile and opposition to government interference in the unions. It also calls for labor to get off all government boards and commissions; for abolition of the no-strike clause, probation period and second-class membership; and for a workers party based on the trade unions to break with the bureaucracy's policies of class-collaboration and fight for expropriation of industry under workers control and for a workers government.

Only gross bureaucratic rigging of the vote prevented his election. Union rules guarantee that each warehouse and hiring hall is entitled to two delegates for the first 25 members and two more for each additional fraction of 25. While only full members (black books) can be delegates, permit members (red books) can vote. Traditionally, the total number of delegates to which a house is entitled is calculated by the total number of people voting in the delegate elections. However, when two organizers, including Mandel, of the anti-blacklist campaign ran for delegate from the East Bay hiring hall and finished third and fourth, despite the fact that 35 members voted, the leadership ruled arbitrarily that the hall was only entitled to two delegates since ten or more of those voting were "red books"!

In another undemocratic ruling the General Executive Board of Local 6 demanded a new election in the San Francisco hall to cut back "red book" representation: those steadily working would be represented, while those working through the hiring hall would not! In order to keep the anti-blacklist fight and a class-struggle program off the convention floor, the bureaucrats are willing to completely disenfranchise all "red book" members working through hiring halls!

The class-collaborationist alliance of the Bridges' leadership with Alioto and warehouse and longshore bosses is at the heart of warehousemen's and longshoremen's problems. Only a new leadership, committed to a class-struggle program can break this unholy alliance, and only the unity of the entire union against the employers can defeat company attacks, including blacklisting. ■

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British Elections: Mandate for a Mess

Miners Win Raise Wilson Calls for Wage Restraint

FROM OUR
SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

LONDON, March 4—The general elections here last week represented a clear defeat for Conservative Prime Minister Edward Heath's vicious offensive against the miners and British working people generally. A nationwide political lockout, the three-day workweek imposed by the Tory government, had aroused bitter labor opposition and considerable unease even inside the business establishment. Rapidly rising food prices, in good part the result of Britain's entry into the Common Market, also contributed to the Tories' demise. And while workers' real wages decreased because of this inflation, two of the country's biggest companies—Imperial Chemical Industries and Barclays Bank—announced that their profits had jumped by 120 percent and 75 percent respectively (*Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 2 March). Many voters apparently drew the obvious comparison here.

But beyond this, the election results failed to produce a majority either for Labour (37 percent of the vote, 301 seats) or the Conservatives (38 percent, 296 seats). There was no clear "mandate" for any particular policy to solve the country's worst economic and political crisis since World War II and little likelihood of a stable government. The unusually large vote for the Liberals (19 percent, 14 seats) indicated widespread yearning in the middle class for a comfortable compromise—the one outcome of the crisis which is virtually excluded.

Wiser heads in the British ruling class scotched Heath's foolhardy attempt to stay in power at all costs with either a Conservative-Liberal coalition or a minority Tory government. This would almost certainly have led to a sharp confrontation with the unions, sooner rather than later. Realizing that new elections are virtually inevitable within a year, Labour Party head Wilson rejected proposals for a Lib-Lab coalition which would have restricted his ability to maneuver rapidly and would probably have led to internal war with the Labour lefts who still vividly remember the disastrous consequences of Ramsey MacDonald's coalition government in the 1930's.

Wilson's "New Social Contract"

While Harold Wilson's minority Labour government has granted the miners a substantial wage increase and rescinded the government-imposed three-day workweek, his next major goal is to secure "voluntary" wage controls through a Trades Union Congress/government pact. This "new social contract," agreed to by the TUC tops without any pretense of consulting the union ranks, is only one more indication that the reformist Labour leaders in power will serve the bosses and not the workers. Already there are indications that Wilson will temporarily shelve proposals for state takeover of profitable companies, except for the North Sea oil nationalization which could win Liberal support. Not surprisingly, *The Times* of London and the *Economist*, both of them staunchly Tory, came out for a minority Labour government in view of Heath's defeat at the polls.

In our last issue we called on British workers to vote for the Labour Party against the Tories, while warning that Wilson & Co. do not represent the interests of the workers, that they would push for voluntary arbitration and aban-

don the nationalizations proposals in their program. This tactic of critical support for a reformist workers party has the purpose of educating in struggle the masses who still have illusions as to the real policies of their traditional leaders. It was crucial that the Tories' vicious anti-labor offensive be beaten back. However, the vacillating reformism of the Labour Party leadership cannot solve the problems of the British workers, which are rooted in the anarchy and bankruptcy of an obsolete social system. The reformist Labour Party is an obstacle to the construction of a mass revolutionary Trotskyist party in Britain to direct the inevitable mass struggles toward the socialist demands which express the interests and needs of the working class.

Wilson is well aware of his vulnerability to a wave of union unrest. It was this that was largely responsible for the fall of the Labour regime in 1970. Thus he has included more "left wingers" in his cabinet than in his previous governments of 1964-66 and 1966-70. Moreover, his granting of a 22-32 percent wage increase to the striking miners is an indication that he hopes to ride out the current upsurge of labor militancy by appeasing it. He will have considerable difficulty doing so. On the one hand, the U.K. is running a whopping balance of payments deficit (the December rate would imply a \$10 billion shortfall in 1974) which will require large loans



Edward Heath

L'EXPRESS

from the international bankers. On the other side, the rest of the unions will be under pressure from the membership, whose living standards are being relentlessly ground down by inflation, to follow the miners' lead. The first group of wage claims comes up immediately and includes power workers, engineers and railwaymen. After a "winter of class war" Britain may be in for a long hot summer as well.

Conservatives Abandon Heath

One significant aspect of the elections was the backing off from Heath's hard-line policies toward the miners by significant sections of the British ruling class. The first important breakthrough came on February 21 with the Pay Board's "sudden discovery" that the figures used to weigh the relative wages of the miners were inaccurate and that they were in fact



Welsh miners march in Cardiff.

WV PHOTO

"entitled" to a greater increase in pay than the previous government offer. The process by which this "correction" emerged to the light of day is still somewhat unclear.

Subsequently, only two days before the elections, Campbell Adamson, the director general of the Confederation of British Industry (the largest employers' organization in Britain), called for repeal of the Industrial Relations Act altogether. He declared:

"We should go farther than amendment. It is so surrounded by hatred that we must have a more honest try at another Act. I have a feeling that the trade unions, faced with this sort of situation, would be quite ready to talk about it. This would give us a chance to start from a position where every relationship at a national level was not sullied by this Act."

—*The Times* [London], 27 February

In fact, this amounts to the Labour Party's position, as Harold Wilson was quick to point out. "Can't you see Mr. Heath saying: 'Et tu, Brute,'" he quipped (*Guardian*, 28 February).

Although Adamson later offered to resign his position on the CBI because he had embarrassed the electoral chances of the Tories, he was not alone in his views. A couple of days later, W. P. Walker, president of the Edinburgh Chamber of Commerce, remarked: "Let us not whitewash the situation by using this type of cover-up. The 3-day week was, and still is, a disaster to management and wage earners alike" (*The Scotsman* [Edinburgh], 1 March). Earlier in the month the *Economist* (9 February) had estimated that the three-day workweek had driven profits from an annual rate of \$12.5 to an annual \$10 billion loss. In comparison, the difference between what the miners had demanded and the government offer would have cost about \$160 million!

But even if City bankers were deserting the Tory ship, Heath had some supporters left, most notably King Faisal of Saudi Arabia. In December Heath had sent Lord Aldington to Riyadh to get more oil. In an impassioned 50-minute speech he painted a picture of impending chaos and anarchy. As the *Manchester Guardian Weekly* (2 March) reported the scene:

"If Labour came to power as a result, Lord Aldington claimed, not only was there a possibility of a more pro-Israeli policy being adopted by Britain, but heavens knows what would follow in Mr. Wilson's wake. There would be a real threat of 'the Trotskyite menace,' and before you could say barrel of oil, Britain would be a mere Communist satellite.

"This, it appears, was too much for King Faisal. He raised his hand in an imperial gesture and said, 'Let

the British have more oil.' When his advisors leapt to their feet, he stilled them with the even more imperious and enthusiastic 'Let them have as much as they need'."

Lord Aldington may be a little confused about Trotskyism—which calls not only for social revolution in the capitalist countries but also for political revolution to overthrow the parasitic Stalinist bureaucracies of the deformed workers states—but he demonstrates a sure instinct for seeking out the true allies of the Heath government. Unfortunately for Heath, however, his oil-sheik friends do not swing many votes in Britain.

Miners Strike: Is Working-Class Independence "Relative"?

The 22-32 percent wage increase to the mineworkers offered by the new Labour government on March 5, immediately after taking office, was more than double Heath's highest offer. This was a relative victory for the miners, and one which will put both Wilson and British business in a tight situation in the coming months. With continuing high inflation, other unions are sure to follow suit. While the TUC has renewed its pledge not to use the miners' settlement as the basis for making further wage claims, the Scottish Mineworkers' executive has already announced it is drafting demands for additional substantial increases as early as November, including a \$50/week increase, a four-day workweek and an earlier retirement age.

While the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) leaders' strategy of toning down strike militancy in order to aim for a Labour election victory was successful in the short run, it certainly did not prepare the ranks for the battles ahead—nor even for what would have been necessary in the event of a Conservative victory at the polls. In addition to limiting the pickets and permitting deliveries to power and coking plants, the NUM agreed to participate in the government Pay Board's "relativity hearings" where the union leaders argued that higher wages for the miners were in the "national interest." These hearings amount to a safety valve for the unpopular state wage controls, permitting a group of workers to receive a wage increase above the legal maximum if they can prove, for one reason or another, that they are a "special case."

When the NUM leadership agreed to give voluntary evidence to the Pay Board it essentially accepted Heath's "Phase Three" wage controls and with that the rest of the Industrial Relations Act (an anti-labor law similar to the

Taft-Hartley Act in the U.S.). The bureaucracy demagogically denies to its membership that it is seeking a "special deal" for the miners. Yet as if participation in the hearings were not enough, every public NUM statement belies this contention. A typical example is the NUM leaflet entitled "The Rate for the Job." This flyer argues once again that miners are essential to the "national interest" and states point-blank: "Miners must have wages which reflect the unique and dangerous conditions of this job and also their value to society" (their emphasis):

"This resolution means that this Union, along with the Labour Movement, is in confrontation with the Tory Government.

"Let us meet that confrontation by mobilising the army, and there is no bigger army in Britain than the army of the working class."

—*Miner*, July 1973

That, if spelled out, could mean no less than a general strike against the Tory government. Needless to say, McGahey is not talking like this today.

The Communist Party did poorly in the elections, getting around 2 percent of the vote in the districts where it ran candidates. Its largest totals

1974): This manifesto is also notable for its elaborate working out of policies for a workers government under capitalism (!), as some kind of "transition" to the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the repeated interchanging of the terms workers government and "left-wing Government moving towards socialism." Allende's popular-front regime in Chile is evidently included in this category. The IMG ran three candidates in the election, attracting little support, with a total of only 716 votes.

The Workers Revolutionary Party apparently did its best to run a "socialist" election campaign while ignoring the concrete class struggle provoked by the miners' strike and Heath's lockout. The WRP election manifesto, although it goes beyond Labourist and CP reforms within the capitalist state, posing a number of transitional demands and the need to overthrow capitalism, was completely silent on the question of the general strike. The nine WRP candidates received a total of 4,191 votes. Running against the right-wing Labourite Reg Prentice, actress Vanessa Redgrave received 760 votes in Newham Northeast, as against 202 for the IMG Ross. One interesting result was in the Welsh mining district of Merthyr Tydfil where the CP got 369 votes and the WRP candidate 160.

As if seeking to outdo the IMG and WRP in opportunism, the International Socialists argued that it was wrong for the former parties to run candidates against Labour in this election and announced it would support only Labour, "because the government has chosen to fight this election on the issue of curb-

ing the trade unions, and a Tory victory would give them the confidence to launch an intensified attack upon the right to organize. For revolutionaries to stand candidates in such an election is simply a diversion from the main issues."

—*Socialist Worker*, 23 February

This is an incredibly gross capitulation to Labourist parliamentarianism in a time of political crisis. All elections involve defending the trade unions—because insofar as elections are political they involve the class struggle. That is, in fact, one of the reasons we call in this country for a workers party based on the unions, which would fight for a workers government to expropriate the bourgeoisie as a class. The IS' argument is the standard line of all opportunists—that revolutionary struggle directed toward exposing the reformists is a diversion from the "main enemy." But the working class will never smash capitalism without also defeating its agents within the labor movement.

Far from having decisively defeated Heath and the Tories by "cooling" the strike and participating in Pay Board hearings, the NUM and CP leaderships have failed to prepare the workers for the industrial and political battles ahead. And by failing to focus on the struggle for the general strike throughout this last period (including during the elections), the IMG, WRP and IS capitulated simultaneously to Heath's electoral diversionary maneuver, the union leaders' strategy of holding back the strike and the traditional Labourist parliamentary cretinism they claim to oppose. ■

SPARTACIST TELEGRAM TO NUM

The Spartacist League/US, a revolutionary Trotskyist organization, has taken initiative in calling for solidarity action committees to build demonstrations throughout U.S. for victory to British miners. British miners are in forefront of world working class in resisting bosses' attempts to place cost of mounting economic crisis on backs of workers. U.S. workers face similar conditions—your fight is our fight. Spartacist League calls for general strike for victory for miners. Smash government wage controls. For major across-the-board wage increase with full cost-of-living adjustment. Smash the lockout, restore five-day workweek and rescind the budget cuts. Abolish Industrial Relations Act. Repeal Emergency Measures Act. Britain out of Common Market. Oust Tory Government. For a Labour Party-TUC government pledged to socialist program of expropriating capitalist class.

—sent 27 February 1974

This approach runs counter to every principle of trade-union solidarity and, moreover, it is a retreat from even the stated policies endorsed at the annual NUM conference at Inverness last summer. The resolution on "Government Policies" had stated flatly:

"This Conference declares its complete opposition to the policies of the Conservative Government. It opposes the Industrial Relations Act and advocates a policy of non-cooperation with the agencies the Act has created. It rejects the Government's anti-inflation policy and urges a policy of confrontation when this stands in the way of legitimate pay demands."

—*Miner*, July 1973

Presumably by "non-cooperation" the resolution did not have in mind participating in the "relativities" inquiry and by "confrontation" it did not mean staring at the government representatives during Pay Board hearings in Piccadilly Hotel.

And the Communist Party?

The reformist Communist Party will certainly gain from its successful maneuvering during the strike. On the one hand, the CP miners' leaders bolstered their image as wily trade-union strategists who can deliver more than the timid "moderates." Moreover, the Stalinists have gained protection and respectability by the fact that the Tories ran an election campaign against "reds under the bed" and lost. But like the NUM leadership (of which it is the most cohesive section), the CP did not pursue anything approaching a relentless class-struggle policy during the strike. Jimmy Young, Scottish miner and ranking CP member, told *Workers Vanguard* in an interview that "cooling it" during the entire election period was "sound trade-union tactics." Most telling of all, Joe Gormley, the social-democratic NUM president, revealed on nationwide television on March 1 that the suggestion to give evidence before the Pay Board had originated with the CP members of the union's national executive.

This was not the tune they were singing last summer at the NUM convention. There the CP vice president of the Mineworkers, Michael McGahey, proclaimed:

"In other words, we are announcing to the Tory government that the miners are in the wages battle and will not be removed from it. . . .

"... we reject any basis of negotiation with this Government on its so-called anti-inflationary policy.

"It is not negotiations in Downing Street, but it is agitation in the streets of this country to remove this Government that is required. . . .

came where well-known CP trade-union leaders were running, as with Alex Maxwell in the Fife Central miners district (4 percent) and Jimmy Reid, chief steward during the 1971 Clyde shipyards "work-in" in Glasgow (15 percent). Overall the CP's 44 candidates polled 32,771 votes, down from 38,000 in 1970. This, according to the Stalinists, was because "the determination of militant workers to ensure Heath's defeat led to many voting Labour despite their agreement with the policies advanced by the Communist Party" (*Morning Star*, 2 March). This may be so, but their decision not to vote Communist was certainly facilitated by the fact that the Stalinists' own reformist program was barely distinguishable from that of social-democratic Labourism.

Centrist Waverings

During the last month and one half we have advocated a defensive general strike in Britain, directed at bringing down the Tory government and reversing its anti-labor industrial policies, as the necessary means for mobilizing the entire working class against Heath's attacks on the miners. The question has since been rendered moot by the installation of a Labour government, the settlement of the miners' strike and the rescinding of the three-day workweek. It is inevitable that for a time the working class will grant a partial truce to Wilson, though that will not necessarily mean the absence of sharp industrial battles. The chief tasks at this moment are to fight to extend the miners' wages victory—to power workers, railwaymen and engineers immediately—and to oppose Wilson's plans for "voluntary" wage controls, while demanding that the Labour government carry out all the nationalizations included in its election program as well as undertaking other measures which go beyond that limited program but are clearly vital for the working class.

The attitude taken by various ostensibly socialist organizations toward the question of the general strike during the last period was an important test of their revolutionary capacities. As we have pointed out, the International Marxist Group oscillated between calling for an insurrectionary general strike on the one hand, and a more limited defensive general strike on the other. It was notable that during the election campaign the IMG hardly mentioned the general strike at all, making only a single completely abstract reference to it in its lengthy election manifesto ("Capitalist Crisis and the Struggle for Workers' Power," February

How Arnold Miller "Supports" British Miners

As an expression of international proletarian solidarity, during the past several weeks the Spartacist League and Revolutionary Communist Youth initiated a series of united-front demonstrations in support of the British miners' strike. Organized by local solidarity action committees, pickets were held in Boston, New Haven, New York, Toronto, Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago, the Bay Area and Los Angeles. Endorsement was sought and received from a number of trade unions and opposition groups within the unions. In New York the Miners Solidarity Action Committee sought, in particular, the endorsement of the United Mine Workers of America. Yet the recently elected "reform" president of the UMW, Arnold Miller, replied that he was working directly with the British miners' union, had given "substantial financial aid" and had no need of "intermediaries" (see telegram).

Unable to reach Miller directly, the MSAC spoke to two national staff members who relayed to the Committee some information that revealed what Miller's "support" of the British miners really amounted to. They explained that the UMW had already contributed \$5,000 to the National Union of Mineworkers in Britain as an expression of solidarity. One staffer, just back from surveying the British miners' strike, reported that the British labor movement, particularly the power station workers, truck drivers and dockers, were mobilized solidly behind the strike. Yet, he continued apologetically, the dockers' union leaders had begun to capitulate, authorizing coal boats to be unloaded on the condition that "the coal not be removed from the docks."

Furthermore, the MSAC was told that non-union coal from the U.S. was being shipped from Hampton Roads, Virginia. (Earlier in the strike, coal was also arriving in Britain from "socialist" Poland. This came as no surprise, as the Stalinist bureaucrats who control the Polish deformed workers state shipped coal to Spain during miners' strikes in 1970 and 1971. They

Miners Solidarity Action
Committee
New York, NY

UMWA are working directly with NUM. Have endorsed miners strike directly and have given substantial financial aid. Will continue to work directly with NUM rather intermediaries.

Arnold Miller, President
United Mine Workers of America

also transported container cargo to Britain during the 1972 British dockers' strike.)

It was learned later from a third UMW staff member that, in fact, union officials here believe that at least a significant part of the scab coal leaving Hampton Roads comes out of UMW-contract mines. While the union, he continued, had called on the British dockers to boycott this coal, the UMW leadership feels that "legal implications" would make it impossible to similarly appeal to the American longshoremen to hot-cargo scab coal, or to call on its own membership to refuse to mine coal intended for Britain. (The same "legal implications" argument is used by Miller to force his membership to abide by the rotten contract negotiated by the corrupt Boyle regime which preceded him and, in the last two weeks, to order West Virginia miners to abandon their work stoppages protesting gasoline shortages.)

Instead of solidly backing the British miners in their battle against the state wage controls, the "reformer" Miller chooses to buy his "solidarity" cheaply (a mere \$5,000) and quash wildcats in his own bailiwick. This proves once again that the only real alternative to reactionary, pro-capitalist union bureaucracies of the Boyle type is a class-struggle leadership based on a full transitional program of working-class demands, including concrete acts of international labor solidarity—rather than mere hot air. ■

Canada's New Democratic Party: Right-Wing Social Democracy

1/ The Development of Populist Labourism

For revolutionary Marxists in the U.S. the struggle to defeat the present misleaders of the working class is centered in the trade unions, the only existing mass labor organizations. This is not to say that the fight is primarily "economic" as syndicalists and workers might assert. There is, for example the necessary battle to expose the true policies of the various nationalist, Stalinist, social-democratic, Maoist, Castroist, fake-Trotskyist, Shachtmanite, etc., groups which pose as socialists even though on decisive

TWO-PART SERIES

questions their policies serve the interests of the bourgeoisie. Or the struggle to defeat the labor bureaucracy's support for the Democratic and Republican parties of big capital, by countering the need for a workers party based on the unions to fight for a workers government. As Marx said, every class struggle is a political struggle.

But if the struggle against the false leaders of the working class is everywhere a necessary step to the revolutionary mobilization of the proletariat, how this is accomplished will be somewhat different in countries, particularly in Europe, where there exist mass reformist workers parties such as the British Labour Party or the French Communist Party. The path to the creation of a mass revolutionary Leninist party goes through a necessary deep split along clear class lines inside the mass reformist workers parties.

How such a split can be brought about has been the subject of tactical discussions within the Marxist movement for years. In general what is needed is uncompromising adherence to the principles of Marxism-Leninism combined with various tactical maneuvers, including the united front, entrism, critical support, regroupment. However, such questions can seldom be decided in the abstract, but require analysis of the concrete situation.

"A Bourgeois Workers Party"

In the case of Canada, whose social-democratic labor party, the New Democratic Party, has consistently received about 1.5 million votes in federal elections over the last decade, the question is complicated by the fact that the NDP has a relatively weak base (for a mass electoral party) in the working class, is very right-wing and has significant ties to the petty bourgeoisie. To get a rough idea of NDP politics it is only necessary to note that party spokesmen often insist that it be called "social-democratic" and not "democratic socialist"; that in 1970 several NDP members of parliament voted for Liberal Prime Minister Trudeau's War measures Act (used to jail almost 1,000 leftists in Quebec, including more than 50 union leaders); that the NDP regularly votes for the Liberal government and failed to oppose in principle government legislation to break the 1973 rail strike; and in British Columbia an NDP provincial prime minister has proposed a Bill 11 which would subordinate the trade-union movement and the right to strike to a government labor board!

The politics of the New Democratic Party, in a word, are bourgeois politics. But the NDP is not a bourgeois party in the same sense as the Liberal or Conservative parties. The NDP is based on the independent class organ-

izations of labor, in this case the unions, and its bourgeois politics are the politics of the *agents of the bourgeoisie within the workers movement*. Consequently it is necessary to deal with the NDP in a different way than we deal with the Democrats.

During the Second Congress of the Comintern there was a discussion over whether the small (about 10,000 members) British Communist Party should enter the much larger, but rotten reformist Labour Party. In arguing in favor of entry Lenin captured the essential quality of reformist workers parties in general, namely their inherent contradictory character, both bourgeois and working-class. On the one hand:

"Of course, most of the Labour Party's members are workmen. However, whether or not a party is really a political party of the workers does not depend solely upon a membership of workers but also upon the men that lead it, and the content of its actions and its political tactics... Regarded from this, the only correct, point of view, the Labour Party is a thoroughly bourgeois party, because, although made up of workers, it is led by reactionaries, and the worst kind of reactionaries at that, who act quite in the spirit of the bourgeoisie."

But on the other hand: "these old leaders represent the interests of the bourgeoisie;... they are agents of the bourgeoisie in the working-class movement" ("Speech on Affiliation to the British Labour Party," August 1920). It is on this contradictory, simultaneously bourgeois and working-class, character of the reformist workers parties that Marxists must base their strategy to polarize such formations.

The Cooperative Commonwealth Federation

The labor movement of English-speaking Canada has much in common with its U.S. counterpart. For one thing, the major unions are part of U.S.-based "internationals," including the UAW, Steelworkers, Mineworkers, Rubber Workers, etc. (The IWW's "One Big Union" was also common to the lumber and maritime industries of both western Canada and the U.S.) Additionally there have been relatively high wages and considerable political backwardness compared to European workers. But there are two distinctive features which separate Canadian labor from the U.S. tradition: the close ties to the British labor movement and the longer duration and greater radicalization of the wave of agrarian populism. It was these two factors which led to the formation of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation in 1932.

The CCF was, in the words of Canadian Trotskyists writing in 1946, "a petty-bourgeois Social Democratic party with some trade union support but deriving its main strength from the agrarian regions and from middle class elements in urban centers" ([SWP] *International Information Bulletin*, September 1946). It resulted from the fusion, at a conference in Calgary in 1932, of a number of provincial labor/socialist parties and farmers' unions. The labor parties included the Socialist Party of Canada (British Columbia), the Dominion Labour Party (Alberta), the Independent Labour Parties of British Columbia, Saskatchewan and Manitoba and the Labour Conference, which included several small socialist parties in Ontario. The political leadership of the CCF in its early years was in the hands of J.S. Woodsworth, a former

Methodist minister, transplanted British Labourite, ILP member of Parliament from Winnipeg and an advocate of alliance with the radical populist farmers groups of the prairie provinces.

The United Farmers of Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba and Ontario, which were the other main element in the founding of the CCF, represented a much different social milieu. The farmers' unions were based on wheat marketing pools and cooperatives and constituted the leadership of many rural communities. Representing a petty-bourgeois constituency, they were generally more conservative and to the extent that they had previously been politically active it was in support of the short-lived Progressive Party which briefly captured the vote of the prairie provinces during the 1920's.



David Lewis

In many respects the early CCF was similar to the Non-Partisan League of North Dakota and the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party, which were also a fusion of the populist traditions with elements of the labor movement. However, the CCF differed from these in one important respect: program. The NPL and MFLP were two-class parties

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CCF founder J.S. Woodsworth and Lucy Woodsworth.

NEW DEMOCRAT

NDP Expels Leftists

TORONTO, March 9—As we go to press, the Ontario New Democratic Party Provincial Council has summarily rejected an appeal of the expulsions of two members of the Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG), Barry Weisleder and Harold Lavandar, and of Lucille Boycott, member of Lyn Marcus' "International Caucus of Labor Committees." Although the defendants were allowed only five minutes each to present their case and discussion from the floor was ruled out of order, Weisleder and Lavandar made a brief political defense and pointed to their long-time history in the party (6 years and 4 years respectively, including serving on the highest bodies of the NDP Youth). Gordon Vichert of the ONDP executive made it clear that Weisleder and Lavandar were being expelled "primarily for their political philosophies, which are incompatible with the principles of the NDP." One militant then yelled out to Vichert, "why don't we expel the liberals like you and David Lewis [NDP national leader]?" Others challenged the executive to produce these so-called "principles."

Weisleder argued for the need for political struggle over program and for the right of all working-class tendencies to remain within the NDP. In particular he pointed to the potentially

disastrous consequences of social-democratic parliamentary cretinism, using the fiasco of the Allende government in Chile as an example. Weisleder and Lavandar's defense was considerably weakened by the RMG's failure to orient toward struggle for revolutionary leadership within the unions. Had they been backed by delegates from the unions affiliated to the NDP, and not just by militants in the ridings (election districts), their expulsion would have been far more difficult to accomplish.

These expulsions are the expression of a long anti-communist tradition in the NDP and are part of a thoroughgoing purge of virtually all organized leftist elements in the party during recent months. This witchhunt began with the leadership's offensive against the Waffle caucus in 1972-73, and continued with the expulsions of two members of the League for Socialist Action, Cliff Mack and George Addison, last September. While the Waffle leadership bolted the party before Lewis and Co. had gotten around to expelling them, a number of leftists in the Waffle organized the "Stay and Fight" caucus to remain in the NDP. With the recent series of expulsions, many of the latter have now been ousted or pressured out. ■

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...Bureaucrats Rig CLUW Conference

the capitalist government. In 1940 Leon Trotsky wrote:

"In other words, the trade unions in the present epoch cannot simply be the organs of democracy as they were in the epoch of free capitalism and they cannot any longer remain politically neutral, that is, limit themselves to serving the daily needs of the working class. They cannot any longer be anarchistic, i.e., ignore the decisive influence of the state on the life of people and classes. They can no longer be reformist, because the objective conditions leave no room for any serious and lasting reforms. The trade unions of our time can either serve as secondary instruments of imperialist capitalism for the subordination and disciplining of workers and for obstructing the revolution, or, on the contrary, the trade unions can become the instruments of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat."

—"Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay"

The CLUW organizers do not even attempt to disguise their overt collaboration with the capitalist exploiters. A meeting in New York on January 19 billed as the "First New York Trade Union Women's Conference" (see *WV* No. 37, 1 February) was sponsored by the Cornell University School of Industrial and Labor Relations (ILR) in cooperation with the U.S. Labor Department. As the Spartacist League pointed out in a leaflet, the Cornell ILR women's project is funded by the Ford Foundation, notorious for its union-busting role in pushing "community control" to smash the 1968 New York City teachers' strike and the "Philadelphia Plan" in the construction trades. Nixon's crooked government was represented by a spokesman from the Labor Department while the Democratic Party was represented by Bella Abzug.

Affirmative Action: A Recipe for the Bosses

The CLUW conference is being centered primarily on three issues: organizing the unorganized, affirmative action and "women becoming part of the decision-making in their unions." Organizing the unorganized has been a theme throughout the series of pre-conference meetings, but the conference rules prohibit the attendance of unorganized working women, even those militants in the process of organizing their shops! (On the other hand, at the Detroit planning meeting Edith van Horn of the UAW Women's Department stated that Abzug would be permitted to attend the national conference as an "honorary union member.") What the bureaucrats are trying to accomplish by this, of course, is to put up the maximum number of barriers in order to keep out rank-and-file militants and supporters of socialist organizations!

Among the reasons that women are often reluctant or apathetic about union organization is a fear that unions will not really fight to defend their jobs and conditions, based on the correct observation that the present union leadership sells out the ranks, especially women, to the bosses at every opportunity. It is incumbent on those serious about organizing women to wage a struggle in the unions to oust the present labor fakers in favor of a class-struggle leadership that will fight for the interests of women and all workers.

It is obvious from the statements of CLUW spokesmen that they support the so-called "affirmative action plans"—preferential hiring schemes initiated by the federal government—such as those now under way in the telephone and steel industries. The affirmative action plans give preference to women and minorities in hiring, transfer and promotions. This weakens the unions in bypassing union seniority plans and the union hiring hall. By providing more jobs for blacks and women at the expense of

white male workers, affirmative action plans actually serve to inflame racial antagonisms and further divide the workforce—a long established capitalist tactic for weakening the labor movement. As opposed to preferential hiring, class-conscious militants fight for an elimination of all forms of discrimination in hiring and upgrading, shortening the workweek with no loss in pay in order to provide jobs for *all* and for union control of hiring and upgrading on a first-come, first-served basis.

While the equitable representation of women in union structures and policy-making bodies is a basic democratic right that all union militants must support and enforce, women trade unionists should have no illusions as to the capacity of women bureaucrats for treachery, a capacity that is equal to that of their male counterparts. The criterion for union leadership, as with all political leadership, should not be race or sex, but the political program which the candidate is pledged to carry out.

The female bureaucrats running the CLUW conference are not in a strong position. By attempting to use the issue of women's oppression as a means for their own advancement they will eventually raise questions they will not be able to answer. The proletarian militancy they hope to tap may well exceed the bounds they have set for it. Their attempts to contain this contradiction through artificial, bureaucratic means—stifling discussion, exclusionism, etc.—must be exposed by class-conscious militants who seek to oust these fakers from their phony posturing as the champions of women's liberation and from their positions of leadership in the trade unions. As part of the reformist trade-union bureaucracy, these agents of the capitalist class must be replaced by a leadership committed to a full class-struggle program. Only then can the trade unions begin to be transformed into the "instruments of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat," capable of securing lasting gains for women through destroying the capitalist system itself. ■

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REVOLUTIONARY
LITERATURE

Continued from page 3 German Workers...

the SPD as its predecessors did in the 1950's and much of the 1960's, or to bypass it, as it is now unsuccessfully attempting to do). Nor does it uphold the validity today of the Transitional Program of the Fourth International.

The Spartacusbund was founded in early February as the re-fusion of what remained of KJO-Spartacus and Spartacus-BL, the products of a 1972 split in the ostensibly anti-Pabloist Internationale Kommunisten Deutschlands (IKD). The IKD had split with the GIM in 1970 precisely over these questions of the Transitional Program and the USec's capitulation to petty-bourgeois youth vanguardism. However, neither the IKD nor the several Spartacus organizations have been able to fully break with the Pabloist methodology of trying to be the left wing of whatever is currently the dominant trend on the left. For example, the Spartacusbund rejects a struggle for a full transitional program in the unions. Instead, it proclaims, "we will raise the demands that already represent first steps toward transitional demands" (*Spartacus* No.1, 1974).

This "transition to the transitional program" approach was fully demonstrated by the Spartacusbund's intervention in the public workers' strike, with slogans that were limited primarily to calling for full realization of union demands and a "no" vote on the contract proposal. The demand that the unions break with the *Konzertierte Aktion* appeared in some leaflets, but without any political explanation or justification. The transitional demand of a sliding scale of wages and hours, an answer to the capitalist inflation and unemployment offensive, was mentioned in an article on the Spartacusbund's founding conference. But in the article on the public workers' strike itself, the call was simply for wage increases: the minimum (i.e., real) program. ■

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Continued from page 1 ...Class Battles

class struggle in the form of the Detroit auto wildcats last summer and the Ford workers' initial rejection of the UAW-negotiated contract in the fall; while the anti-labor policies of the government combined with Nixon's incredible arrogance have led to massive opposition to the regime, partly over Watergate but also in protest against inflation and the "oil crisis."

The Democrats in Congress seem to be moving toward the point of actually initiating impeachment proceedings while the Republicans, burned by recent electoral setbacks, reluctantly tail along. From the special grand jury's indictment of seven former Nixon aides, the rumored contents of its special secret report on Nixon's involvement in the coverup, reports that the chief executive owes up to \$500,000 in back taxes, evidence that tapes were deliberately erased, etc., it is obvious that Nixon's enemies have enough "dirt" of the illegal doings of "Mr. Law-and-Order" to kick him out of the White House and put him behind bars for years—if they wanted to. Their main concern is the blow this would mean to the authority of the government as a whole. But as this is now at an all-time low and sinking steadily, they may soon find it advisable to act.

Given the tight bureaucratic control of the unions and the generalized opposition to the government, the natural thing to expect would be a massive explosion of working-class discontent, more or less leaderless, overflowing the framework of the existing labor organizations. Although representing a section of the petty bourgeoisie rather than the proletariat itself, the independent truckers' chaotic work stoppages in the last three months could be an indication of things to come. As for the ability of the "liberal" union bureaucrats to control such an outburst, it is indicative that the "reform" regime now running the United Mine Workers was no more responsive to the coal miners' demands for effective industrial action against the fuel shortages than Boyle's gangster-ridden regime was to the 1969 agitation for health and mine safety legislation. In both cases the ranks were forced to undertake political wildcat strikes without union leadership.

An Opportunity for Revolutionists

In quiescent times, the hold of the traditional leaderships on the class is unchallenged. The job of Marxists must be to accumulate forces in preparation for future battles. We now appear to be close to a situation in which, for a limited period of time, mass struggles may be combined with an increasing inability of the labor tops to channel action into purely reformist solutions. Should important outbursts of class militancy, such as the French May events of 1968 or Italy's "hot autumn" of 1969, occur there is an objective possibility for revolutionary Trotskyists to greatly expand their influence within the workers movement.

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Class Struggle in Auto

articles from *Workers Vanguard*

...Class Battles

Sensing the increased, but so far suppressed, militancy of workers and youth the majority faction of the "United Secretariat," the fake-Trotskyist "international" led by Ernest Mandel and Co., has been speaking impressionistically of a mythical "new mass vanguard" of students, youth, women, young workers, immigrants, etc., who have already "escaped" the control of the traditional labor leaderships. Consequently the Mandelites see their task in setting up various kinds of ad hoc committees on the fringes of the existing mass organizations in order to crystallize this vanguard. Their model, it would seem, is the student committees against the Debré Law (eliminating student deferments from the draft) in France last year. A classic example of what this amounts to during an important class battle was the British International Marxist Group's agitation during the recent miners' strike for a general strike organized by non-existent "committees of action" behind the back of the Trades Union Congress.

The key to a successful intervention in such explosions of class militancy will be a determined struggle for the Trotskyist program expressed tactically both in struggling for a revolutionary opposition within the existing mass organizations and, at appropriate times, in energetic intervention to build new organs of mass struggle including elements of the present labor movement. Marxists must undertake bold and determined efforts to raise the level of struggle, with an awareness of the real limits imposed by the absence of a revolutionary pole as a viable alternative mass leadership.

The USec revisionists offer no such perspective. These "new mass vanguardists" abandon the Trotskyist program at every step, seeing the key as simply organizational, grouping together various centrist forces and "mass movements" on any kind of mutually agreeable program. They failed to fight against the draft during the anti-Debré Law campaign; they voted for the popular-front Union of the Left in the 1973 French elections; they do not distinguish between a workers government as advanced by the Transitional Program—a call to achieve the dictatorship of the proletariat—and a "left government" supposedly (though in fact not) moving toward socialism (à la Allende). These fakers gave de facto "critical support" to the Chilean popular front, thereby helping prepare the way for the bloody coup which found the workers defenseless. Such opportunists can only prepare the way for further defeats.

An exemplary indication of the type of intervention needed was the recent campaign of the Spartacist League for a defensive general strike to bring down the reactionary Tory government and reverse its vicious anti-labor industrial policies. Calling on the top union leadership (the TUC) to initiate the strike (since at this point it could begin in no other way), we called for it to be organized by shop stewards' committees, elements of the existing trade-union structure which, however, are more susceptible to intervention by the masses and the revolutionists. (See articles in *WV* Nos. 36, 38 and 39 for a full discussion of these questions.)

This orientation is to be contrasted to that of the Pabloist centrist IMG, which oscillated between calling for an insurrectionary and a defensive general strike and believed it could effectively ignore the existing union and Labour Party leadership—until the election campaign, when it virtually abandoned its general strike agitation. It also stands in contrast to the parliamentary cretinism of the British International Socialists, who refused to run or support socialist candidates against Labour, and of the Workers Revolutionary Party which failed to agitate for a general strike and instead focused on its "socialist election campaign" during the sharpest industrial/political crisis in Britain since World War II. ■

Chilean Junta Holds MIR Leaders

Romero and Van Schouwen Must Not Die!

The Spartacist League calls on all socialist and working-class militants and organizations to take up an immediate fight to save the lives of two leading members of the Chilean Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria (MIR—Revolutionary Left Movement), Bautista Van Schouwen and Alejandro Romero, who are currently in the hands of the murderous butchers of the Chilean military junta. Van Schouwen, a member of the Political Commission (the leading body) of the MIR, was captured on December 14 and has been subjected to severe torture as a result of which he is reportedly being held in a military hospital. Romero, a member of the Central Committee, was arrested in November and has been condemned to death by the military government. He could be executed at any moment.

The junta has become increasingly politically isolated, both within Chile and worldwide. Faced with catastrophic price rises and pay cuts, sections of the working class have even attempted some limited protest and strike actions, despite the bloody white terror which is continuing. Sectors of the Christian Democrats, the Catholic church hierarchy and even the military are reported to be expressing dissatisfaction (some 350 officers are reportedly imprisoned for not supporting the reactionary coup). The junta is under pressure. The task, which is above all political, of preparing for a workers and peasants insurrection is on the order of the day.

At the same time there are now rumors of a deal being worked out to free a few prominent supporters of the Allende government through the intermediary of the United Nations. A *New York Times* dispatch (2 March) reports that the UN Commission on Human Rights had called on the junta to release five leading leftist prisoners, including Communist Party head Luis Corvalán. "A tacit understanding of the parties [Chile and the USSR] to the deal was that Chile would allow the imprisoned men to leave," the paper reported. We must vigorously demand the immediate release of *all* the political prisoners who are victims of the reactionary junta's repression, including Corvalán or even "constitutionalist" officers. However, such a special deal would put the lives of far-left militants such as Romero and Van Schouwen in immediate danger.



Inside the National Stadium following military coup last September.

GAMMA

Their situation is made doubly dangerous by the fact that so far no organization of the U.S. left has made a serious effort to mount protest actions or to publicize in its press the case of the MIR militants. The Communist Party has concentrated solely on Corvalán and other luminaries of the Popular Unity coalition. The Socialist Workers Party and the U.S. Commit-

tee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA), for their part, have concentrated on publicizing the cases of Corvalán, Luis Vitale (a member of the "United Secretariat" with which the SWP has fraternal relations) and several intellectuals with the argument that "a campaign focused on these well-known figures will help dramatize the plight of the thousands of other political prisoners" (*Militant*, 5 October 1973).

Both the CP's sectarian refusal to defend far-left militants and the SWP/USLA opportunist "strategy" of focusing on those prisoners who are popular or likely to awaken the sympathies of bourgeois liberals ignore the thousands of class-war prisoners in Chile and open the way to precisely the type of "deal" now being rumored. It is the duty of all serious socialist militants and organizations to make a firm stand in demanding freedom for all the victims of the junta's repression, including (and for us, especially) those of the far left.

—FREE VAN SCHOUWEN AND ROMERO!
—FREE ALL VICTIMS OF THE REACTIONARY JUNTA'S REPRESSION! ■



Bautista Van Schouwen

ROUGE

Demonstrate/New York City

Immediate release of Van Schouwen and Romero!

Free all victims of the
reactionary junta repression!

Friday, March 15
Lan-Chile Airlines—5 p.m.

545 FIFTH AVENUE

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Canada's NDP

with a bourgeois populist program, while the CCF, which included similar social elements, had adopted a petty-bourgeois "socialist" rhetoric and program.

Subject to the exploitation of railroad and grain elevator monopolies, in alliance with Eastern bankers, the small prairie farmers lived continually on the edge of natural and financial disaster. In the late 1920's the twin calamities of drought and depression foreclosed the mortgage: the monetary income of the prairie provinces dropped by 92 percent during 1928-32, nearly twice the drop nationally; hundreds of thousands of farmers were forced onto government relief (S.M. Lipset, *Agrarian Socialism*).

Rural populism during the early years of this century combined demands aimed at eliminating the middleman (anti-monopoly legislation controlling banks and railroads, producer cooperatives, etc.) and a program of monetary inflation (the Greenback Party, for instance) as the answer to pervasive farm debt. Under the hammer blows of the depression, these elements now separated into a right and left wing, with the more reactionary forming the "funny-money" Social Credit Party (centered in Alberta), and the more radical coalescing the CCF. For a historical moment a large section of the poorer farmers were temporarily won to socialism, at least in words. Thus the 1930 convention of the United Farmers of Canada (Saskatchewan Section) declared that: "the present economic crisis is due to inherent unsoundness in the capitalistic system which is based on private ownership of resources and capitalistic control of production and distribution and involves payment of rent, interest and profit." The 1932 convention of the United Farmers of Alberta called for "a community...in which all social means of production and distribution, including land, are socially owned" (quoted in W.D. Young, *The Anatomy of a Party: The National CCF, 1932-61*).

The Regina Manifesto

It is important to understand this background, for it is frequently assumed that the socialist phraseology of the CCF program was solely the result of labor influence. Petty-bourgeois parties, particularly nationalist ones, frequently have a "socialist" coloring in a fundamentally bourgeois program. Thus Bandaranaike's Sri Lanka Freedom Party in Ceylon, Mujibur Rahman's Awami League in Bangladesh, the Chilean Radical Party (member of the Second International) all claimed to be socialist, as does Prince Sihanouk of Cambodia, Sadat of Egypt, Boumediene of Algeria, etc. These are basically cases of deception. However, on occasion there are splits in such parties, with the left section temporarily leaning toward support for socialism. Thus the Left Social Revolutionaries in Russia supported the Bolsheviks from October 1917 until the spring of 1918; and in Chile both the Radical Party and left-Christian Democratic MAPU split during the course of the Allende government, with the left sections adopting an at least formally socialist program, without ceasing to represent a section of the petty bourgeoisie.

The CCF's program for a quarter century (1933-56), the Regina Manifesto, is an amorphous hodgepodge of pacifist, technocratic and reformist social-democratic terminology and anti-monopoly reforms. It was written by a group of Fabians (the League for Social Reconstruction) in Toronto and Montreal. Claiming, on the one hand, that "no C.C.F. Government will rest content until it has eradicated capitalism and put into operation the full programme of socialized planning," its main practical planks were "socialization of all financial machinery—banking, currency, credit and insur-

ance" and "socialization (Dominion, Provincial or Municipal) of transportation, communications, electric power and all other industries and services essential to social planning."

For farmers, the CCF offered "security of tenure...; insurance against unavoidable crop failure;...encouragement of producers' and consumers' cooperatives; the restoration and maintenance of an equitable relationship between prices of agricultural products and those of other commodities and services [parity]; and improving the efficiency of export trade in farm products." A worker could look toward "a national labor code...insurance covering illness, accident, old age, and unemployment, freedom of association and effective participation in his industry-or profession."

Looking Toward Labor

Despite the radical turn taken by ex-Progressive farmers, substantial conflict between the petty-bourgeois farmer and labor elements in the CCF were manifest. The Regina Manifesto rejected any mention of violent revolution, confiscation without compensation and working with the Communist Party, proposals which had been put forward by the more radical and predominantly labor British Columbia delegates. Moreover, Ontario and Alberta farmer delegates objected to such phrases as "the functionless owner class," for understandable reasons. The leader of the UFA told his constituents that socialization of credit was all that was needed, and the Saskatchewan section of the party issued its own manifesto in which the CCF slogan of "Production for Use and Not for Profit" was shortened by lopping off the last half (Young, *op. cit.*). In Ontario, when the provincial CCF decided to defend a persecuted Communist Party leader a couple of years later, the United Farmers pulled out of the party altogether.

The party press during this period had a strong petty-bourgeois flavor, preaching Christian virtues and bemoaning the corrupting influence of morally bankrupt capitalism. According to Young, "The CCF *Research Review*, published in Regina, attacked popsicles, processed cheese, and packaged breakfast cereal as examples of the corruption, dishonesty, and impurity of capitalist society." This is not unusual considering its farmer base and a leadership composed of preachers like Woodsworth and future Saskatchewan premier Tommy Douglas (a Baptist) and schoolteachers like M.J. Coldwell, who succeeded Woodsworth at the head of the party. But there was also an increasingly influential labor current, personified by David Lewis, national secretary of the CCF from 1936 to 1950, who has headed the NDP since its birth (in 1960). Lewis was a product of the socialism of the Montreal Jewish *Verbund*.

Simple electoral calculations forced the party leadership to orient increasingly toward labor. In the 1935 elections almost two-thirds of the CCF vote came from the more urban provinces of Ontario and British Columbia. However, there were difficulties in establishing ties to the unions. For one thing, there was no provision for affiliation of national unions (largely because of rural hostility to them). For another, the All-Canadian Congress of Labour, the left-wing federation at the time, refused to endorse the CCF because it was not unambiguously socialist:

"The concessions made to the farmers have been ill required....What is needed is an undiluted labour policy defined with such clarity as to leave no room for self deception or mental reservation by those who subscribe to it."

—*Canadian Unionist*, March 1934
(quoted in Lewis, *op. cit.*)

Lewis tried to get a number of unions to send delegates to the 1936 convention of the party, a move which met little enthusiasm from labor and still less from some members of the CCF executive.

A turn in the CCF's reception by the unions came with the spread of the CIO unions in Canada after 1938, and par-

ticularly after they formed (with the ACCL) the Canadian Congress of Labour in 1940. Particularly the United Steelworkers, but also the United Auto Workers, the Packinghouse Workers and the Mineworkers were pro-CCF. In August 1938, the UMW District 26 affiliated in bloc. Another key development was the dramatic increase in CCF popularity in urban areas during the war, which led to the party representation in the Ontario provincial parliament jumping from 0 to 34 seats in the 1943 elections, while the Liberals went from 63 seats to 15 (L. Zakuta, *A Protest Movement Becalmed*). That same year the CCL endorsed the CCF as "the political arm of labour," and by 1944 the party claimed to have 47 affiliated union locals comprising 35,000 unionists. The CCF seemed on the verge of becoming a mass labor party.

Going Nowhere

However, the opposite occurred, and the party actually became if anything more agrarian in composition. This was partly because the CCF's 1943 electoral success was due to the popular impression that it was opposed to the war. As opposed to the Communist Party's campaigns for speed-up to support the war effort, the CCF called for "Conscription of Wealth Not Manpower." In fact, however, the CCF steadily backed away from its original antiwar position and eventually called for a Canadian expeditionary force. In any case, by the end of the war, this drawing-card was gone.

Equally important were the dynamics of the struggle between pro-CCF and pro-CP elements within the CCL. The CP strongly opposed affiliation to the CCF, using Gompers-style arguments that the unions must remain politically independent. When the move to endorse the CCF came up in 1943, many voted for it in order to vote against the CP. Subsequently, however, the federation made no effort to implement the endorsement, and growing CP strength made it impolitic to do so. By 1945 the number of affiliated locals had fallen to 16 with only 12,500 members.

Following the 1944 victory in the Saskatchewan provincial elections, the vote in that province continued around 40-44 percent of the electorate until 1956 when it began to drop. This was far higher than anywhere else, with Ontario falling to 11 percent and British Columbia down to 26 percent in the 1953 federal elections. Financially the party was very dependent on Saskatchewan, especially since its per-capita dues from affiliated union locals during the 1950's amounted to no more than \$1,000 to \$6,000, although during campaigns the pro-CCF unions would kick in more substantial amounts (as they do for the Democrats in the U.S.).

However, one should not overstate the extent of this shift. The CCF still pulled in more than 200,000 votes, mostly urban, in Ontario and more than 125,000 in British Columbia. And within the CCF's federalist structure, the Saskatchewan section operated semi-autonomously (as did the B.C. party) while the national leadership continued, with little success, to pursue its perspective of selling itself to the labor bureaucracy.

Toward a New Party

In order to break out of electoral stagnation the CCF leadership began pushing hard to win trade-union support again, particularly after the merger of the CCL (affiliated with the U.S. CIO) with the TLC (affiliated with the AFL) in 1956 to form the Canadian Labour Congress. There was a period of maneuvering between the different leadership sectors of the CCF and CLC for a couple of years, during which time the pro-CCF bureaucrats won out in the CLC (largely because of the numerical strength of the ex-CCL industrial unions) and those CCF forces who wanted to force the unions to affiliate to the CCF lost out to those who wanted a "new party" (largely as a result of the decline in CCF vote totals in the mid-1950's).

The April 1958 CLC convention

passed a resolution calling for a "broadly-based people's political movement which embraces the CCF, the Labour Movement, farm organizations, professional people and other liberally-minded persons" (cited in Young, *op. cit.*). Organizationally the key was the merger with the unions, but politically the catchword was "liberally-minded persons." The CCF leadership, which had gradually abandoned the socialist rhetoric of the Regina Manifesto, eventually endorsed the war and in general shifted opportunistically every time the wind of public opinion changed direction, had already gotten the message. Lewis set the ball rolling in his book *A Socialist Takes Stock* in 1955 where he stated that because of the lack of freedom in "communist societies" it follows that "the democratic socialist today should continue to reject any suggestion of total nationalization...."

The attempt to reach out to "liberally-minded people" took programmatic shape with the Winnipeg Declaration in 1956 which replaced the Regina Manifesto. The new declaration called for "appropriate opportunities for private business," and where the Regina Manifesto had stated that "we aim to replace the present capitalist system...by a social order from which the domination and exploitation of one class by another will be eliminated," the Winnipeg Declaration now stated: "Private profit and corporate power must be subordinate to social planning designed to achieve equality of opportunity and the highest possible living standards for all Canadians."

A number of old-time CCFers complained that the party was moving to the right. The president of the Saskatchewan CCF bombastically proclaimed that "the trouble is that socialist parties have gone a-whoring after the Bitch Goddess. They have wanted Success, Victory, Power; forgetting that the main business of socialist parties is not to form governments but to change minds." As a matter of fact, the business of *all* parties is to defend their interests; and while revolutionary Marxists struggle to overthrow the present capitalist state and replace it with a workers republic, the day-to-day business of social democrats is to work within the parliamentary framework of the bourgeois system—in order to obtain concessions for the proletariat within the framework of "national interests." Already the 1948 convention had announced "a C.C.F. government will help and encourage private business" and social ownership would be restricted to chartered banks, transportation, basic steel, farm implements, meat packing and fertilizer, fuel and power—a program for an "anti-monopoly coalition" so dear to Stalinist and social-democratic reformists, but hardly a call for socialism.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Women Bureaucrats Rig CLUW Conference

The regional conferences held around the country in preparation for the founding conference of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) in Chicago on March 23-24 have given a clear—and ominous—indication as to what kind of organization CLUW is. Unless rank-and-file militants at the national conference take decisive action to reverse its course, CLUW will at best mislead the women workers it claims to represent and relegate itself to ineffectual pressuring of the trade-union bureaucracy and bourgeois politicians for a few crumbs, achieving next to nothing in the way of real gains for women. If the experience at some of the regional conferences is any indication, CLUW will harden into an artificial organization representing only the interests of a cynical clique of careerists who use the issue of women's oppression to their own private advantage. Rigidly controlled at the top by International union officials hoping to use women workers' felt oppression to develop a vehicle by which a few women trade unionists can maneuver up the ladder to personal success without threatening the trade-union bureaucracy, CLUW's main activity will be to funnel the restlessness of rank-and-file women workers into reformist, government-engineered dead ends.

There have been numerous indications that this is the direction things have been going. The main concern of CLUW's organizers in planning the Chicago conference, as evidenced by the undemocratic regional conference procedures and totally pre-determined limits on "permissible" topics of discussion, has been to limit or prevent participation by socialist trade-union militants, gag any opposition, prevent floor discussion of resolutions and railroad through a "statement of purpose" that will confine women workers' struggles to a few token reforms.

The December East Coast regional conference in Philadelphia, for example, allowed only half an hour of floor discussion (two minutes per speaker) and confined workshop discussion to the question of structure and the electing of regional planning coordinators. Such procedures are designed to keep the conference under rigid bureaucratic control. Structure is totally irrelevant until a programmatic basis for the formation of an organization has been determined. The purpose of organizational structure is to implement an organization's goals. But where are the democratically adopted goals of CLUW? Furthermore how can coordinators be elected on any basis other than cliquish personalism when the majority of women electing them has no idea who they are or what they stand for, as was the case in Philadelphia?

While the "statement of purpose" is being cooked up behind closed doors and yet to be made available, what is intended can be seen in the following statement adopted at the CLUW National Planning Committee meeting in Chicago on January 25-26:

"To bring together women union members and retirees of bonafide Collective Bargaining organizations to deal with our special concerns as unionists and women in the labor force. . . In an inter-union framework, the Conference will consider positive action in the areas of equal pay, equal rights and equal opportunity. . . (more specifically) . . . education about women's legal rights, adequate maternity benefits and child care, equitable hiring and promotion practices, adequate minimum wage, upgrading and affirmative action, organizing the unorganized women workers, and equitable representation of women

in union structures and policy making decisions."

Bureaucratic Rules of Order

The call to the national conference states that "only resolutions directly related to the January 25 statement above will be accepted"—an obvious tactic to rule out of order any resolutions that seek to expose and fight women's oppression on the basis of its causes, which lie in the fundamental nature of capitalist society.

At the trade-union women's conferences in Philadelphia and New York the introduction of resolutions was not permitted on the grounds that they would be considered at the Chicago national conference. This was a cynical maneuver by the conference leaders, however, as among the resolutions put off was one on Watergate calling on the labor movement to oust Nixon and to stage new elections, these measures to be enforced by a political general strike if necessary, in order to put forward a labor candidate against the twin parties of capital. This resolution, put forward by a trade-union supporter of the Spartacist League, went on to advocate the formation of a workers party based on the trade unions with a class-struggle program. Such a perspective is essential to the achievement of gains for women and for the trade-union movement as a whole, but if the conference is forced into the confines of the narrow January 25 statement, the leadership will certainly attempt to rule such resolutions out of order.

Furthermore, all resolutions must be submitted to a "Resolutions Committee" two weeks prior to the conference, thus prohibiting the elementary democratic procedure of allowing participants to put forth motions in response to discussion on the floor of the conference. At a planning meeting in NYC on March 4 Connie Kopelov of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers outlined the conference rules to New York women planning to attend the Chicago conference: all resolutions to the national conference will be discussed in 33 scheduled workshops *only* and brought to the plenary for vote with *no discussion*. How can the conference participants be asked to vote intelligently on resolutions if they are not permitted to hear discussion pro and



WV PHOTO
Addie Wyatt of the Meat Cutters Union, Chairman, CLUW Arrangements Committee.

con from the floor? Or is the goal simply to have the meeting rubber-stamp those resolutions which have been pre-selected by the bureaucratic leadership?

All literature must be submitted in advance for screening: someone will then decide whether it is "educational" enough to go on display. No "unauthorized" literature may be passed out. No observers will be admitted to the conference; only card-carrying union members may attend. When questioned as to whether or not male trade unionists would be permitted to attend the conference and be members of CLUW, Kopelov replied coyly, "We can't discriminate, but we can be discriminating." These female bureaucrats are no amateurs and are using every trick in the book to sew up this conference so tight that nothing will get through without their approval, and so that no one will be able to offer a class-struggle alternative to their reformist/liberal politics.

Trotskyism, Not Single-Issuism!

While the conference rules have been specifically tailored to preclude political struggle, this has not seemed to bother the organizations of the "socialist left" who have, with the exception of the Spartacist League, wholeheartedly tailed the CLUW reformists without a word of criticism. Most notable among these is the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), whose recent orientation to CLUW indicates its as-

piration to become the "best organizers" of yet another reformist operation.

The SWP has been welcomed by the bureaucrats since its reformist politics actually mesh quite comfortably with those of the CLUW organizers. A supporter of preferential hiring schemes ("affirmative action"), feminist male-exclusionism, electoral lobbying strategies and scabbing during the 1968 New York teachers' strike, the SWP poses no threat to "simple trade unionism," that is, seeking to win a few piecemeal reforms without attacking the capitalist system itself. In the period of imperialist decay, this inevitably means dividing up a shrinking pie for the benefit of some sections of workers at the expense of others. So far the only discernible difference between the SWP and the bureaucrats is the former's predilection for "single-issuism," in this case in favor of focusing on the Equal Rights Amendment.

In contrast to the SWP, Spartacist League supporters have attended regional CLUW meetings in order to counterpose a class-struggle program to the fake militancy and demagogic rhetoric which prevail at these conferences. From the inception of the women's liberation movement the Spartacist League has consistently pointed out that the struggle against women's oppression can be successful only with the mobilized strength of the labor movement behind it. It ultimately requires the destruction of the capitalist system itself, as does the struggle of all workers against their exploitation by the bosses. But this struggle necessarily involves breaking the hold of the agents of the bourgeoisie within the labor movement—the reformist trade-union bureaucracy—and replacing them with revolutionary leadership. Covering for CLUW bureaucrats, as does the SWP, only propels the struggle backward. To imply otherwise, confining women's struggles to the framework of capitalism, is to betray women's aspirations for true social and economic equality.

In the era of monopoly capitalism the trade unions must struggle against the capitalist system itself, or else they will be turned into instruments of the bosses, either directly or through

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DAILY WORLD



January 19 New York Trade Union Women's Conference.